855 [264] danger from cannibals. If enemy raiders did catch a roving child, he was certain to be eaten or sacrificed. Children under [782] four years were not tortured but if offered as sacrifices were simply strangled and taken to the sacred place in the hills, where they were hung up with hooks through the mouth and offered to the gods in this way.

The child, then, was under supervision all the time, usually by the secondary husbands. The man would go about his work, keeping an eye on the infant. The child was played with occasionally when the adult was not too busy, but there was no constant attention. The child found early in life that it got nowhere by yelling, for if the adults were busy, they just let it [839] cry. However, if the child became too troublesome, an adult might quiet it by masturbating it. The masturbation of female children began very early; in fact, from the moment of birth there was systematic manipulation of the labia to elongate [832] them, as elongation was considered a mark of beauty.

861 There was little discipline, and as has been said before, no discipline whatsoever for the eldest child. There was, however, constant danger from taboo infractions, the supposed dangers from ogres, and the real danger of cannibals. The terror which adults felt when a child got out of sight was genuine, and, of course, strongly affected the emotional response of the child. The child was not intimidated or coerced, but it was impressed upon him that if he wandered away, he would be in constant danger, from which only the adult could protect him. The supervision, however, was of a rather diffused sort. The danger stressed was not in being away from any particular person but in being alone. No economic responsibility of any sort was imposed on the child before puberty. The child was not taught any arts or crafts, but led an entirely carefree existence.

857 When the youngsters were eight or ten they began to form into gangs. Both girls and boys were in such groups; more boys than girls because of the before-mentioned sex ratio. The unit was vaguely defined, and was composed of children born within three or four years of one another, with occasionally

/21 cont./ 864 513
children sleep beside the parents. As most houses are quite small, parents and children are seldom far apart. Only when a child is 7 or 8 will some attempt be made to prevent it from witnessing the parents in coitus. (Most adults apparently prefer to believe that the children always are asleep, although the same adults can be prevailed upon to recount some of the acts which they witnessed as children.) Further, the association of infants with somewhat older children who "baby sit" during parts of the day, has the effect of placing the infant in a position to learn many of the overt practices of children. Marquesan children are therefore quite sophisticated at very early ages. This sophistication manifests itself in an early beginning of sexual play. 864 [854]

/22/ Masturbation (pau pau heke) among males begins about the age of three, or sometimes earlier. Many male children masturbate before they talk. The masturbation technique of children is exactly like that of adults -- the penis and hand are moistened with saliva to increase the sensation and ease. Most children are taught this by example of older boys. It was nearly impossible to obtain data on female masturbation, due to the extreme reluctance of women to discuss this on any terms with a male or female investigator. Only one occurrence was noted, this a story by a girl who claimed she had witnessed a very young girl in the Convent School of Atuona on Hiva Oa digitally masturbate in the mornings. It is probable that female masturbation is no less frequent than male masturbation, however, as males make frequent reference to female practices. 839 ● 864 [871]

Young boys from the ages of 6 or 7 upward quite frequently gather surreptitiously in the bush for masturbation contests. The objects of these contests is to see who can ejaculate (manini, haka te'a) first. Naturally the younger members of these groups are physiologically incapable of ejaculation, and their participation appears to be based on their desire for sexual stimulation derived both from the actual manipulation of the genitals as well as from observing 857 864 839

/22 cont./
the behavior of others. Mutual masturbation occurs in these gatherings; and some homosexual activity may begin at this time, although it is uncertain. 837 842 [839]

At the age of approximately 7 years other forms of group sexual activity appear, which are heterosexual. Boys and girls, playing at "mother and father," will often place their genitalia in contact for /23/ brief periods. The girl either stands against a tree or lies supine on the ground, with the boy assuming the normal position for coitus. Contact is brief, accompanied occasionally by pelvic movement. This activity is carried out with much laughter, in isolated areas where adults will not be apt to surprise the gathering.

Adult disapprobation of masturbation and the other group activities among children is apparently feared. The error lies in being so inept as to be caught at any of these activities, however, rather than in the activity itself. There is no folklore concerning deleterious effects of masturbation or homosexuality. It is merely considered shameful to allow adults to witness these acts, however natural they might be. Furthermore, much of the disapprobation of such acts is feigned, especially where Europeans are present. Disapproval is expected as "the thing to do."

During childhood, Marquesan children of both sexes are given jobs and responsibilities which increase as they grow older. Caring for children occupies a great deal of time for young girls. Girls are also expected to help with cooking, laundry and general maintenance around the house. Girls also collect shellfish along the beaches, and line-fish for sardines and other small fish in the bay. They are taught crafts, such as sewing and basketry. Both sexes help in the care of livestock: watering and tethering horses, and feeding pigs, goats and chickens. These jobs are usually handled in a routine, with the animals being /24/ served at the same time each day, usually early in the morning and again at dusk. 866 868 859

Boys help in the manufacture of copra and in gardening tasks. They also are expected to handle the more strenuous tasks, such as collecting coconut drippings for contraband [273]

/29 cont./ 836
transition into a normal sex life somewhat easier. Most girls [145]
begin sexual relations about the age of 11 or 12. It was note-
worthy that in some cases menstruation started after the first
child. Menarche is certainly viewed as a milestone in the [881]
individual life cycle, for it was /30/ often well-remembered
by elderly women. It does not have the high emotional color-
ing attached to circumcision for the male, however. First
intercourse is usually with an adult male, frequently occurring
in a chance situation where the girl is surprised alone in the
brush or while in bathing. In Atuona, where the convent school [197]
for girls of the archipelago is maintained by the Missionaries [871]
of the Sacre's Coeurs de Piopus, many of the girls have their
first sexual experience while picking coffee on the mission
lands. There, during coffee season, the girls are sent out to
harvest the crop, but many of the male residents of the valley
wait in the dense brush around the coffee stands in hope of
finding a willing girl. Girls who do not receive the advances [839]●
of males at these times are often raped with the help of their
more sophisticated girl friends, to insure that they will not
confess what they have witnessed.

Beside such frequent chance meetings in the bush, some
contact occurs around the homes of girls approaching puberty.
Nocturnal visitations by males begin and become more fre-
quent as physical maturation becomes more obvious. Most
of these night forays are unsuccessful due to the unsophisticated
behavior of the girls, who are quite fearful of parental intrusion.
Parents often take elaborate precautions to protect girls at this
time, forcing them to sleep in inaccessible corners of the [513]
house, with younger children or with the parents close by;
forbidding trips to the latrine unchaperoned; closing all
windows and doors tightly and tying a noisy dog around the
house.

/31/ Under certain circumstances, however, the parents 836
will openly condone sexual relations for young girls, and go 548
so far as to force them into it if they feel that the rewards are 648
sufficient. The motivation in such cases is invariably economic.
The presence of a government fishing vessel in the archipelago [648]
provoked a wholesale business in bartering sexual favors for

/31 cont./ clothing, tools, ammunition, outboard engines, bicycles and sewing machines which the crew had brought especially for that purpose. Parents took their daughters to the ship, received the gifts from the appropriate crew member and discreetly departed or got drunk. In one instance a 14-year old's virginity, carefully guarded otherwise, was purchased for a box of very scarce rifle cartridges.

In other cases, parents are happy to see their daughters form a relationship with an individual of importance such as a resident French official, a ship's officer on a vessel regularly traversing the archipelago, or a storekeeper. The element of permanence is a necessary factor in such matters, as a transient relationship is of little value to the girl or her parents. Although the parents are frequently prompted by economic self-interest in suggesting such an arrangement to a daughter, they may also act for prestige purposes alone. The mistress of the superintendent of cargo on a copra-schooner calling in the islands was a rather wealthy girl by native standards. Her parents, although undoubtedly happy to see her the recipient of many gifts, received none themselves and seemed to feel that it was the prestige of their daughter being attached to a really wealthy individual that was of value to them personally, not the potential financial benefit.

/32/ At puberty, girls attempt to stimulate the development of their breasts by daily massage (na ku naku), usually while bathing or before retiring at night. Large, firm breasts are felt to be attractive to males and are definitely desired by the girls. This may also be an attempt to stave off the lois of muscle tone and ensuing pendulosity of the breasts which occurs in adulthood, often before the age of 30. [143]

Defloration (ha'a teka) has usually been partially accomplished before the first intercourse as a result of the strenuous work and athletic play which young girls indulge in, as well as masturbation (using instruments, as stated by males) and constant horse riding, often bare-back. The pain and discomfort attendant upon complete defloration is accepted with little trepidation. Girls are led to expect it and try to suppress any outward manifestations of the pain that they may feel. [152]

/49 cont./
to the point of orgasm. Oral stimulation is used in a prelude 833
to the sex act and also as an interruption during the course of 836
the act. It is from the promiscuous girls that the young males with experimental orientations obtain their introduction to fellatio. In nearly all cases, men named well-known promiscuous girls as the source of their first experience with this particular sexual outlet.

Cunnilinctus is permitted by most of the promiscuous girls during the sex act. It apparently evokes a mild sensation in [832]
comparison to actual penis intercourse, but is nonetheless valued.

A wider variety of intercourse positions are used in intercourse with promiscuous girls. These will be discussed at greater length below, when adult sexual behavior is considered.

Despite the opening of a wide vista of heterosexual 839 ●
contacts after puberty, masturbation among males apparently increases markedly in frequency during the first few years of adolescence. Males state that at this time they are constantly in a state of excitation as a result of thinking of their girls and their plans for the evening. Masturbation is resorted to quite frequently during the daytime to satisfy this sexual urge, which is considered to be so strong. Males will leave work on the pretext of urination, masturbate rapidly, and return to their jobs. Masturbation is not considered to have any deleterious physical effects; in fact, it seems to be regarded as a kind of beneficial exercise.

/50/ The constant sexual excitation of young males 831
has already been alluded to, in our discussion of courtship. A state of semi-erection is often maintained for long periods during working hours. Sexual conversation may evoke strong [521]
images of recent experiences with erection occurring quite rapidly. As soon as turgidity is noticeable it is usually called to the attention of others present, in boisterous tones. The individual experiencing the erection usually laughs and makes some comment, often exclaiming: 'Ua pia! 'Ua to'a! -- "It's a root! It's a stud!", or 'Ua tute hakaiki --

/50 cont./
"The chief is standing." Casual fondling of the genitalia is 831
quite frequent and considered natural. Boys will be seen wrapped in thought while watching something or engaged in a conversation, simultaneously rubbing their genitalia through their trousers. It is also common to see males reach into their shorts to fondle themselves. Whether from inside or [839]
outside of the clothing, the fondling usually is done in the following manner: the penis is placed against the stomach and stroked along the ventral surface, up and down, quite slowly.

A male is extremely proud of the size of his penis, and 826
will often try to improve its size by squeezing and pulling on 831
it while in an erect condition, a technique believed to be helpful in stimulating growth of the penis. Males are envious of each others endowments, often conducting comparative sessions at which the length of the penis was measured along [804]
the extended palm and arm, in the Marquesan fashion of indicating lengths. (I was frequently asked for my archeological [123]
tape measures, to put these contests on a more scientific and objective /51/ basis.) Quite often, while swimming or bathing nude, comparisons are made directly, always with the penis erect. If erection is not naturally forthcoming, the male will turn his back, masturbate until turgidity appears maximal, and then make his measurement.

At least three named types of penii were recognized by 192
the Marquesans, two of which are still known and used today 826
to refer to particular varieties. The typological division is 831
based on the shape and size of the glans penis:

a. hua'i'ama — Wide flat glans, with a blunt terminus (like a candle nut)

b. moa'iahota — Narrow glans with a more circular or oval section and a pointed terminus, tapering gradually (like a sting ray barb)

c. hapa potea — Could not be defined by informants. Translation indicates that the term makes an analogy between the glans and the shape of the mollusc turbo argyrostoma (hapa = end, potea = T.

/53/
female kinesic habits. A transvestite is known as mahu'o hiva, 838
"homosexual of the ridge pole," referring to his abiding around the house in the performance of female chores.

Pederasty and mutual masturbation are common among normal male adolescents. Isolated male groups will often become so stimulated by their sexual talk and horseplay that these practices will be indulged. In pederasty, as in masturbation, the penis is moistened with saliva before introduction. The act of pederasty generally involves some discomfort for the subordinate of the pair, but it is generally a reciprocal practice; therefore, the discomfort is considered worth the sexual satisfaction obtained when the dominant role is assumed.

Masturbation contests are quite common in adolescence, as at earlier age levels. [839] [883]

Fellatio is apparently uncommon in "normal" male homosexual behavior, but is considered characteristic of the behavior of the mahu or homosexual deviate.

There are still a number of valleys on the major islands of the archipelago, in which the population is quite small and the females available as sexual partners are either few or completely absent. If adolescent boys are present in these valleys, they must either travel to other valleys at night to find girls, which may be difficult and dangerous; or, they must indulge in homosexual relations. Ho'dumi, one such valley that I visited on Nuku Hiva, had a population of 35 people. /54/ There were five or six adolescent boys and two unmarried girls who were sisters to two of the boys. The two girls were carefully supervised by their parents, and contacts were nearly impossible for the boys. The boys had formed a loose group for work and recreation which also served as the center for homosexual activities. During the period in which we conducted excavations in the valley, we had excellent opportunities to observe this group. They generally retired to the interior of the heavily overgrown valley for homosexual activities in the afternoon. Their activities were well-known to the workmen, who often chided them asking who had played the girl's role that day and if the person who did did not have a sore anus.

838 883 [361] [162] [162] [123] [522]

/54 cont./ 838

There are relatively few mahu in the archipelago. I saw one transvestite, who lived with a woman and reputedly had fathered her children but was nevertheless definitely termed a mahu by the natives, having indulged in habitual homosexuality. This person had a very feminine physique with wide hips, narrow shoulders, and thin poorly muscled arms and legs, contrasting sharply to the usually heavily muscled Marquesan male. He walked with a feminine hip swing, used hand and arm motions like those of women, and wore a wrap-around skirt, a woman's blouse tied in a bare midriff fashion, and a string of shells. This person enjoyed a considerable reputation as a "laundress" and "seamstress," two characteristically female roles. [462]

Two other homosexuals, not transvestites but very markedly effeminate, were also married, using their wives to attract males and /55/ compromise them for homosexual acts. Both men maintained fairly regular male lovers. Other males who showed interest in the wives were propositioned and promised use of the wife if they would indulge in pederasty or fellation first with the husband. The women involved in these relationships did not appear to be overly concerned about the husband's deviation. Both of these individuals practiced fellatio with frequency as well as pederasty. At least one experienced a very strong orgasm during pederasty. Natives who had consorted with him remarked that he was "just like a woman: making noise in his orgasm." Fellatio was resorted to for the purpose of exciting a lagging male before pederasty, as well as to produce an orgasm. [832]

Female homosexuality occurs, but no data on frequency is available. One case of bestiality was noted in which a sexually deprived young girl in an isolated valley had used a dog to perform cunnilinctus with some regularity, in the absence of males. 839 ●

Digital and mechanical masturbation is practiced by adolescent females also, probably more frequently in cases of sexual deprivation. Bananas and pundanus fruit segments [824]

/55 cont./ 839 ●
are often used for this purpose, as a result of which one often [824]
hears males jokingly refer to "the tired banana" (meika pa'u pa'u)
before girls who might have been indulging in the activity. [522]

Incest is by no means unheard of in the Marquesas: in 835
fact, many Tahitians cite incest as one of the distinguishing characteristics of /56/ Marquesan sexual behavior which, however, is a wild exaggeration.

Now, the incest tapu are no longer clear. Furthermore, it is uncertain what the former practices were. On the parental generation, the tapu extends to both parents' relatives of the opposite sex of ego, regardless of age. In cases where mother's sister is almost equal in age to ego, the tapu still holds. Even in cases where a male's mother's sister is extremely promiscuous, sexual relationships are forbidden.

On ego's generation, tapu apply to all siblings of opposite sex and to classificatory siblings of the opposite sex (cousins). How far out these tapu extended could not be determined. In marriage there is a kind of semisanctioned relationship between in-laws of the opposite sex. Intercourse between a man and his wife's sisters, or a woman and her husband's brothers, is quite common. One informant described how he repeatedly induced his wife to stay overnight at her parents' home so that he would have access to her younger sister, who he preferred.

In case of death, there is a preference shown toward the 587
levirate. The son of an informant was killed while pearl-diving in the Tuamotu archipelago in August 1956, leaving a wife and three children. The informant immediately dispatched a younger son to the widow, who was residing in Tahiti, with the hope that the son could replace his brother in the family. He said that it would be "nice" because the two boys were /57/ of the same family, hence the children would not have to grow up with an alien father who might not love them as much.

Actual cases of incest within the nuclear family are 835
few, but receive much publicity. During the author's stay

/58 cont./

Although the male:female ratio of the total population does not indicate any scarcity of females, the distribution of females over the inhabited areas is by no means even. Therefore, although a large surplus exists in one valley, a scarcity of near-absence of females may occur in an adjacent valley. Although such inequalities place strains on the day-to-day sex life of the unattached male, they do not ultimately effect his chances for marriage, however; for anyone seriously looking for a wife can move into a well-populated valley at will or make regular weekend visits. 162 [484]

Bestiality occurs, as a substitute for normal sexual relations. It is not frequent to all appearances, although the reticence of the Marquesan on matters believed to be abhorred by whites, may account for the paucity of evidence concerning this practice. 839 ● [124]

/59/ One report was obtained of a girl who had repeatedly used a dog as a cunnilinctor. The girl was living in an isolated area at the time the practice began, where no male sexual partners were available. Having had some sexual experience prior to this isolation, the girl experienced deprivation, as a result of which she began this practice. My informant definitely regarded this as an unusual practice, stating that he had not heard of it previously.

References to male bestial practices were made in oblique fashion on a variety of occasions. Many of these appeared in the context of general conversation about hunting expeditions or explorations of one variety or another, where men were isolated for long periods of time. In such conditions, feelings of sexual deprivation were generally said to result in a reappraisal of the available non-human sources of sexual gratification: horses, dogs and other quadrupeds. The implication was that gratification was usually obtained by anal intercourse. [521]

A very frequently overheard reference was that to copulation with chickens. It was stated, most commonly, that in intercourse the chicken would gyrate wildly, flapping its wings, producing a cooling breeze. This was called the "Nuku Hiva fan" by informants.

/59 cont./ 183 831

Throughout adolescence and youth, the Marquesans participate to a greater or lesser extent in the behavior patterns and traits described above, depending on the features of their individual environments. There is a constant change in utilization of these practices, as features of the /60/ external environment change, resulting in a condition in which most individuals have run the entire gamut of sexual relations (with relative emphasis differing markedly), by the time that physiological maturity has been attained.

836 883

Normal heterosexual relationships during this period consist of a series of courtships of various lengths, culminating in sexual intercourse. Both sexes develop and change these transient affections quite frequently. In some instances, deeper attachments develop, often with parental sanction for overt cohabitation. During and between courtships, regardless of degree of attachment, the male reserves the right to have sexual relations with anyone he wishes. Quite frequently a male uses several girls in rotation during the course of a few weeks, still retaining a stronger attachment to one. Homosexual practices are fleeting and impromtu, being entered into to fit immediate needs and nothing more, as are the rare occurrences of bestiality. [838]

182 836

As opposed to the normal girl, the promiscuous girl depends heavily on her sexual propensities to help her in the world, withdrawing from normal family life to lead an untrammeled existence, quite dependent, however, upon the bounty of her lovers and her friends. Promiscuous girls form a buffer between the community and foreign intruders, provide a source of education to the relatively uninitiated male, while serving as a means of gratification and entertainment for the male community at large.

/61/ The relatively rare deviants, as defined by the Marquesans, also have an established role which they can play in the community. 182 838 839

/67 cont./

No information could be obtained on frigidity; therefore, it is impossible to state whether it exists or not. 833

Extramarital relations are common, appearing quite soon after marriage and increasing in frequency as the couple approaches middle /68/ age. The male seeks sexual partners mainly among the wives of friends (many of whom may have been former lovers), promiscuous girls in the community, and the younger virginal girls with whom a married man often plays the role of sexual initiator. Relationships may also be with daughters-in-law (which is not considered incestuous) or with blood relatives. The contacts take place most frequently in the bush, either by plan or chance, and at drinking bouts. 837 [836]

Females seek sexual partners among married males, and the young boys of the community. Contacts take place most frequently during the day when husbands are away from the house working their copra lands or gardens, as well as at night when husbands are likely to be out fishing.

Contacts of this type revert often to premarital behavior patterns: intercourse is rapid and devoid of elaboration or variation. [833]

Homosexuality involving married individuals is rare and practiced only under conditions of enforced abstinence. There is some indication that adult males prefer younger boys for this purpose, as the preference is frequently verbalized, the observation being made that young boys have softer bodies, more like those of girls. Such contacts are casual and fleeting, and do not lead to any permanent relationship between the parties involved. Permanent relationships are considered to be characteristic of the deviant mahu or male homosexual, and are regarded as unnatural. 838

/69/ Bestiality is indulged in by married individuals as an emergency practice in situations of abstinence. Chickens are commonly used by males for copulation, and dogs are used as cunnilinctors by females. 839

Extramarital exploits are most carefully concealed in most cases, but news generally leaks out, as it is seldom possible to conceal anything for long in communities of between 837 521

/108 cont./
aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.